437 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
285 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
[411] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sonorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
● [462] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
576 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
571 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
[191] forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present—a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

142 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
584 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios compadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

291 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

302 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They
[439] can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

MANUFACTURES

000 Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving seats and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
286 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
462 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and fans of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that calabashes have since largely replaced ceramics.

324 **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the metates
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood lances are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cayapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At an early age the girls are instructed in household duties of all kinds, and often begin to spin and weave, as well as to make pottery, basketry, and other articles, at the age of five or six years. They also take a hand in agriculture when very small. As they grow older and become more proficient in these various arts, they enter more and more into the regular daily work of the home, until they finally marry, which they usually do at an early age, often at about seventeen or eighteen years.

The daily life of the men is also a busy one. They do their share of the work in the fields, besides being industrious hunters and fishermen. They are expert woodworkers, making very excellent canoes, paddles, benches, images used as toys by children, musical instruments, certain cooking utensils, and various other objects of wood. They make and tend the fish corrals as well as set the seines when the water is in a favorable condition to divert fish to certain places. In addition to trapping and netting fish, they also do much fishing with hook and line. They hunt a great deal and procure a very important part of the food supply in that way, for the jungle abounds in many kinds of game. When about the house, they are, like the women, almost always busy at something, as adzing a canoe, weaving a net, or doing some one of the many kinds of work which fall to the man's lot in the Cayapa division of labor. Since the introduction of needles and thread among the Cayapa, the men have taken up sewing and have become very efficient tailors for their simple needs.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

462 The women do all the spinning and weaving of cloth,
512 but the men sew all garments, not only for themselves
294 but also for the small boys who have not yet learned to
[291] sew. This is due largely no doubt to the fact that the single garment worn by the women requires no sewing whatever, while the two garments worn by the men must be sewn.

868 At a very early age boys begin to learn the arts practised by their elders, hence they are instructed in hunting, fishing, woodworking, and similar useful accomplishments of the men.

512 It is customary among the Cayapa to arise at dawn, usually between five and five-thirty o'clock, and to retire as soon as darkness comes, or between six-thirty and seven o'clock. These hours vary little throughout the year, owing to the proximity of the equator.

[527] The daily routine is usually about the same throughout the year, varying in event of a fiesta, or boda, which brings the people together at a particular village, from which, after some days of festivities, they return home.

[484] Another diversion is going down the river to the settlements. Sometimes this trip is made almost purely for
[439] pleasure and to obtain oysters and other sea foods, but more often these pleasure trips are combined with the selling of tagua, cacao, rubber, or plantains, and occasionally logs for lumber.

593 One of the most characteristic features of the daily life of the Cayapa is the devotion of the members of a family toward one another, especially that of parents toward their children. Few restrictions are placed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

291 294 [462] and containing a sufficient amount of cloth to make two clouts. Each clout consists of two pieces sewed along a seam running up the front and back. The cloth itself is woven by the women, as is the woman's dress or manta; but the sewing of the clout is done by the men, for the women almost never do any sewing for themselves or for others. The fact that the woman's dress requires no sewing may account for her lack of 291 knowledge in this direction. The clouts are made to fit very tightly, so tightly in fact that they make deep impressions in the muscles of the legs. On account of this tightness no gathering-string or other method of fastening is ordinarily required. Occasionally a man is found who makes his clout a trifle looser than customarily, and provides it, on the right-hand side, with a button [177] to hold it in place. This is said by the Indians to have been formerly the universal custom. In recent times, however, the very tight clout has almost entirely supplanted the other form.

291 177 The influence on the life of the Cayapa exerted at the present time by modern commerce and its manufactured articles is here again shown by the use of white muslin in the making of the clouts. In fact, at present the muslin clout is almost, if not quite, as common as is that made of the native cloth.

291 It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were mountaineers, they used the poncho which at present is so common among the Indians of the interior Andean region. On migrating into the warmer and more humid coastal region, however, the poncho was found un-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the ripening of the fruit, and also to facilitate harvesting the heavy racime of fruit, which is usually from ten to fifteen feet from the ground. The fruit having been removed, the trunk is chopped up and rolled away from the newly growing shoots. Owing to its succulent character and to climatic conditions, the trunk decays rapidly. 245

Being the chief food of the Cayapa, plantains are grown in considerable quantities, often a single family having a field covering several acres. It appears, however, to thrive better in some places than in others. For instance, in the region about Punta Venado the land is comparatively low and wet, and complaint is made that the plantain does not do well. Along the Rio Onzole, on the other hand, better conditions are said to prevail, the land being somewhat higher and having better drainage.

The fields of plantain are in large measure tended by the women, though the men frequently assist in clearing the fields. The harvesting is done almost entirely by the women, who cut down the stalks as above mentioned. They strip off a wide band of the bark from the midrib of one of the large leaves, which they use as a head-band in carrying the racimes of fruit from the field to the canoe, thence to the house. As before stated, the plantain is always gathered while green. Even if ripe plantain is desired, it is usually gathered green and allowed to ripen indoors. The gathering of the plantain while green is, first of all, a matter of necessity, since if it were left in the field to ripen it would be devoured by parrots, [462] [482]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

501 be called the grip. In a woman's paddle this end may be truly called the grip, and it is usually notched in more or less of a fish-tail form, shown in pl. LXXVI, 9 to 11. This notch is quite smooth, and is actually gripped by the hand. In the case of the man's paddle, however, a purely ornamental tip is put on the end, which is almost never touched in paddling. A few of the typical forms of these ornamental ends are shown in figs. 1 to 4 and 6 to 8 of the same plate.

[531] Occasionally various simple figures are carved either in relief or in intaglio near the upper ends of the paddles. An illustration of such carving relief is shown in pl. LXXVI, 9. Such ornamentation is seen frequently on women's paddles, but only occasionally on those of the men.

[824] As a finishing touch to paddles and in order to make them perfectly smooth, especially along their handles, they are rubbed down with the under-surface of a dry leaf called lya'pic haki, which is covered with minute but very hard spines that serve the purpose of sand-paper. A bunch of these palmate leaves is shown in pl. LXXVII.

502 [141-2] Although on a long journey a woman may act as pilot of the canoe, a man sometimes serves in this capacity while the woman sits forward and paddles, as shown in pl. LXXX. Again, it is customary for the woman to use the short paddle on all occasions, but now and then she may be seen using the man's long paddle. Such an instance is shown in pl. LXXIX, where the pilot of the canoe in the foreground is a woman using one of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

since such weaving is done in large measure only at odd times.

The trunks or mocho (pl. CXVI) worn by the men is made of cloth woven by the women, a special narrow fabric being produced for this purpose. One of these pieces of cloth contains enough for two mochos. It is always cut and sewed by the men themselves, some of them being adept with the needle. The women know almost nothing about sewing. It ordinarily even falls to the men to make the small mochos for the boys until they are old enough to sew for themselves.

The subject of manta designs is treated under Decorative Art.

CORDAGE AND NETTING

In most cases cordage and nets are made of the fine, long, white fibers obtained from the leaf of the plant called in Spanish pita and in Cayapa sa′nō, and to a much more limited extent the fibers from the bark of a tree called in Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgī′lya are used.

The preparation and manipulation of pita, to which reference has been made hitherto, are quite elaborate. The long, slender, full-grown leaves of the plant are cut off close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles, such as those shown leaning against the house in pl. LXVI. While the leaf is still green the fibers are extracted by first scraping off the succulent portion of the concave side of the leaf and then stripping out the fibers from the remainder. For this scraping there are required a semi-cylindrical log of palm-wood, called sañwi cī′nō,

brown. A few of them are tatooed on the arms and the blue of the ink stands out very clearly. Mongoloid characteristics such as the epicanthric fold, the Mongoloid spot, and high cheekbones are very common, but in contrast to the Mongoloid nose, the Cayapa nose is often bridged. Occasionally one finds individuals with very high-bridged noses of aquiline shape. Their eyes are uniformly dark brown, and the whites are seldom clear but have a brownish tinge that would seem to indicate a high incidence of liver disorders. Most Cayapa, especially the women, seem to be somewhat round-faced. The men, while short, are very well-proportioned and have tremendous strength in their arms and shoulders which probably stems from their technique of canoe handling. As a rule, the women are thick-waisted, the result, perhaps partly at least, of their characteristic canoe handling. They generally paddle in a seated position, using a very short paddle, which requires many rapid short strokes for effective maneuvering, and they necessarily have to lean forward to make efficient use of the short paddle.

Clothing and Adornment. Many men are quite

adept at tailoring, and make their own clothing. Children learn from their fathers. A few men own sewing machines which they sometimes rent out; some take tailoring orders from their less skillful neighbors. Some men may even make their wives' shirts /pihtahal^{y}i/. The men wears western-style trousers with pegged cuffs that are shaped to permit easier gathering of the trouser leg at the calf, if wading should be necessary. The trousers are held up by leather belts that are purchased. The colors of the trousers are usually dark tones of blue, grey, khaki, or black. The Cayapa are restricted in color choice simply because the available trouser cloth that is purchased in the coastal towns tends to come in these shades. On the other hand, shirt material is available in a wide variety of colors and every conceivable color combination is used, very often in harlequin fashion.

The shirt /huwél^{y}i/ is cut in a rectangular fashion with a short slit neck which forms a 'vee' when worn. Tight short sleeves run down about three inches from the shoulders. The front and rear panels are joined together at the sides by colored strips of varying widths. The panels may be of the same bright color,

Other wooden articles

still made by the Cayapa include the /háli winder/ 'bark cloth beater,' /malúka/ 'plantain masher,' and food strainers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 155-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called bateas in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods.

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /ha^{i}mba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called cununo. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa.

Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.30 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large receptacles made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /aúpa/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish.

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pigs who find them especially delectable. The Cayapa seldom plant commonts, but the Negroes do so whenever possible. Important palms are the tagua and the chonta-duro. The tagua nut was formerly an extremely important economic product; its hard seed was in constant demand on the world market for the manufacture of shirt buttons. With the rapid development of the plastics industry some thirty years ago, the market for tagua seeds completely collapsed. The Cayapa still talk nostalgically of the days when money did apparently grow on trees. Though its export value has declined, the tagua palm, nevertheless, is still important to the internal economy: the leaves are used extensively for roof thatching, the nut is a minor item in the diet, and when the tree dies, the /tsiñu/, a delectable and very oily grub can be dug out of the trunk. Both men and women may work in the gardens. Generally speaking, however, the men clear the garden and the women plant the seeds or roots. Men and women may harvest the crops.

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The staff of life for the inhabitants of the Pacific Lowland Culture Area is the plantain which is found in many varieties. It may be eaten green or

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

about twelve years earlier. Off to one side in a small cubicle, a minor commotion was in progress. I walked over and saw a group of women standing around a woman who was seated with her back to me. When I asked what was happening, I was met with a burst of laughter and giggles. Men who were approached grinned and said that it "was an affair of the women." Perhaps an hour later, I returned to the cubicle and watched the seated woman grasp and twist a piece of cloth that had been suspended from one of the rafters. An old crone was serving as the mid-wife. The actual birth took place during one of my periodic absences to watch the festivities which were going on unabated. A few curious children and some women were the only by-standers.

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Elderly women are generally the mid-wives, but there are a few men who ply the trade on occasion. The mid-wife knows enough to manipulate the unborn child to a good birth position, which is done by massaging and kneading on the abdomen. Most births are normal and fairly easy. It is said that if the child is born with its arms akimbo, then the mother will die.

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position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fiestas she doles out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them 'father' and 'mother.' Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until